SUNDAY, MAY 31, 1903

## Steel Corporation Makes Employes Shareholders

Che Result of H Unique Experiment By One of the Great Crusts

By Walter Wellman in Review of Reviews

N OCCURRENCE of tremendous and far-reaching importance is the success of the United States Steel corporation's wage-earners' investment and profit-sharing plan. When this plan was announced, Jan. 1, every thoughtful man in the counannounced, Jan. 1, every thoughtful man in the country gave it close attention. Here was an experiment which any one could see drove straight at the roots of the interwoven problems which have been brought acutely to the front by the development of modern industrialism in America—the problems of actual ownership of the great industrial corporations, of the relations of such corporations to the predominant opinion of society and therefore to the lawmaking power, of the relations of labor and capital, and the bearing of all these upon the rise of socialism. The deep significance of the experiment all could understand, though of course some minds had a truer appreciation of it than others. With all, the question of questions was, Will it succeed? To many lips came the expression: "It is a clever, an artistic, an ingeniously contrived plan; but, will it work? Will the wage-earners take hold of it in earnest? Is it anything more than a delightful dream?"

We have not been compelled up wait long for the answer. The directors of the steel corporation offered 25,000 shares of stock to their 168,000 employes. The books were to be kept open thirty days, No one dared believe that within this month, while the plan was so new, while all sorts of prejudices or fears might deter subscribers, and while the great mass of employes would still be studying and thinking about the offer which to them must have seemed something novel and complicated, all or even one-half of the preferred stock would be taken up. Yet, when the books closed Saturday evening, Jan. 31, it was found that the 25,000 shares offered had been subscribed for more than thrice over. Twenty-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-three employes had subscribed try gave it close attention. Here was an experiment

more than thrice over. Twenty-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-three employes had subscribed for 51,125 shares. This was success—success complete

and surprising.

Almost exactly one-sixth of the vast army of employes of the corporation had declared that they wished to become owners of the securities of the company for which they work. Best of all, the very men who, it had been feared, would not take kindly to the project—the men who stand bare-bodied in front of the furnace fires, or like magicians handle the glowing rails or bars of molten metal, or delve into the gloomy mines, or watch the myriads of machines, or keep the books in the offices—have most eagerly responded to the company's offer. Those who thought that the real workingman, the man who works with his hands for daily or weekly wages, would not participate in this plan, must be greatly disappointed by the returns. Look at the facts:

Fifty per cent of all the subscribers (14,260 men), taking nearly 60 per cent (29,013) of all the shares subscribed for, belong to class E, which is composed of men who receive salaries of between \$800 and \$2,500

men) taking nearly 30 per cent (15,018) of all the shares subscribed for, belong to class F, which is composed of men who receive salaries of less than

Ninety-four per cent of the subscribers earn from \$2,500 a year downward, and their subscriptions amount to nearly 90 per cent of the total. Only 6 per cent of the subscribers, taking only about 10 per

amount to nearly 90 per cent of the total. Only 6 per cent of the subscribers, taking only about 10 per cent of the shares, belong to the classes of employes in which may be found managers, superintendents and the higher salaried officials of the company. These men wanted many more shares, but, under the limitation set, were unable to get them.

When the directors of the corporation met early in February to receive the reports of the success or failure of their project, they found themselves embarrassed by the opulence, not annoyed by the meagerness, of the results. Gratified beyond measure, they voted to allot a total of about 45,000 shares among the subscribers. The 12,170 men from the lower ranks of the army, in class F, were allotted all the shares they subscribed for; the 14,260 men in the class just above them were allotted 90 per cent of their subscriptions. The higher classes, D, B, C and A, composed of large-salaried officials, had their subscriptions, aggregating about 7,000 shares, scaled to 80, to 70, to 60 and 50 per cent, respectively. Every man who subscribed got at least one share of stock.

Nearly one-sixth of all the employes of the steel corporation has thus become purchasers of the preferred stock of the company, to the extent of \$4,500,000 par value. Of this sum, \$4,000,000 is taken by employes whose earnings range from \$500 or \$600 a year unward to \$2,500. ployes whose earnings range from \$500 or \$600 a year upward to \$2.500.

trial, within a single month—if the restraint of prejudice and of lack of acquaintance with a new project can be overcome to so great an extent in so short a ne in the future? What are the ultimate pos les of the plan in this single corporation? And as applied to all great industrial corporation? If \$4,500,00 of good dividend-paying securities may be disposed month, is it not possible to dispose of hundreds millions of such safe and standard securities to the employes of hundreds of industrial corporations in the course of a year? And if this can be done—if ownership of our great industrial combinations can be

employes of hundreds of industrial corporations in the course of a year? And if this can be done—if ownership of our great industrial combinations can be spread out among the men who work for them, if aggregations of capital may thus be democraticized, or what Federal Judge Grosscup called the other day "peopleized"—are we not finding herein a natural and easy solution of the industrial, political and social problems which to many keen eyes appear to be rising like a cloud above the national horizon?

Nothing succeeds like success. Now that the employes' investment and profit-sharing plan of the United States Steel corporation has so quickly demonstrated what may be done, men are everywhere saying that there may be, should be, and probably will be, an enormous extension of the principle throughout the country. It has long been a cause of wonderment to many observers that so few of what is called the working or the wage-earning class in this country of transportation or manufacturing corporations. As a rule, the men who work for wages never think of buying a share of stock or a bond. They do not know how to go about it. The idea is wholly foreign to their philosophy. In their minds, stocks and bonds are associated with large accumulations of capital, with Wall street, with speculation, with the world of finance, which is not their world, and which they would be foolish to try to enter. The facilities for buying one or two shares of stock or \$100 or \$200 worth of bonds are not within the reach of the average workman—or he thinks they are not, which amounts to the same thing. It is the almost invariable rule that men who work for wages invest their savings in real estate—homes for themselves, and occasionally an extra building lot or two—in life insurance, or in savings banks or building associations. In the United States nearly 7,000,000 depositors have in the savings banks the vast sum of \$2,800,000,000. Probably two-thirds of these deposits are in the name of wage-earners. The average interest increment upon th

If the wage-earners could be induced to put their money into industrial securities—and the experience of the steel corporation shows that they can be—it is of the steel corporation shows that they can be—it is not easy for the mind to grasp the ultimate possibilities of the ensuing popular ownership of great corporations. Once the movement is started, once wage-earners learn the modus operandi of buying such securities and discover that they can net a much higher rate of interest for the use of their money, the aggregate amount of their yearly investment may reach surprising figures. The change cannot come at once, as by a sudden inspiration or quick revolution of as by a sudden inspiration or quick revolution of ideas and methods. It must be brought about gradually. Indispensable conditions are:

First—Facilities for buying stock should be of-

fered by the managers of the corporations, so that the business of selling such securities shall not fall into the hands of brokers who might prey upon in-vestors by "working off" upon them paper of doubt-

econd-The stock offered employes must be first

earning power.

Third—The operations of the corporations, in great detail and perfect frankness, should be placed yearly before the public, after the manner now observed by the life insurance companies, most of the railway companies and a few of the industrial companies, the steel corporation itself being a conspicuous example of the last-named class.

of the last-named class.

Fourth-Offerings of stock should be made to employes by all high-class corporations, not benevolently, nor with any altruistic or sentimental notions, but purely as a matter of business. The standard of self-respect and of pride and dignity is quite as high among the wage-earners as among people who employ, and the workers for salaries quickly and treatly resent and view with a most natural and proportions. keenly resent, and view with a most natural and proper suspicion, any effort to "do something for them" or "help them along." They do not want charity, but a chance to invest their savings prudently and advantageously, as business or professional men invest

Fifth-Credit should be granted with the stock Sixth-Corporations should offer their own stock

ployes joint owners with other stockholders of the properties they serve, attaching them to the company with the bonds of self-interest.

Seventh - Profit-sharvestment, the latter affording a most excel-lent basis for the for-mer, upon the principle that the thrifty and surplus in the securities these things, and is properly entitled to some reward beyond his

ice to their employers.

The success of the It is true that under present conditions wage earners do indirectly invest their savings in industrial securities. They put their money in the savings or other banks, or in the life inof bonds and stocks of ance and manufacturance and manufacturing corporations, some of which are known as "trusts," are owned by the people at large, by hundreds of thousands and millions of stockholders, and not by a holders, and not by a few rich men, as is gen-erally supposed. But this is quite a different thing from the direct ownership which is pro-posed by the new move-ment. Depositors in savings banks or holding about the ultimate investment of their deposits or premiums. They look only to the bank or to the in-

personal interest in the corporations whose securities may be in the vaults of the insurance company or bank. The moral effect of direct ownership and direct and distinct personal interest in entirely lost. The corporation whose securities lie in the vaults of his or policy holder a distant, shadowy, perhaps unknown entity. But the corporation whose stock or bond he has in his bureau drawer, or deposited for safekeeping elsewhere, which he has partly or wholly paid for with his own hands out of his hard-earned savings, with his own hands out of his hard-earned savings, and the dividend which he and his family reckon upon as a part of their income, becomes to him a living reality, a part of his life and hope. If it chances to be—as it should be—the very corporation for which he is working day after day and year after year, if he feels as he toils that he is a part owner of the establishment and has a stake in its success and prosperity then we are reaching the best possible substitutions. perity, then we are reaching the best possible substiperity, then we are reaching the best possible substi-tute for the abolition of small individual ownership which modern industrial development has decreed. We are doing quite as much for the corporations as for the wage-earner, who has thus become a joint proprietor in his small way. We are attaining a con-dition which will reconcile the masses of the people to the existence of glant corporations, if anything can reconcile them, and while we are doing something for the wage-earning investor and wroth start and for the wage-earning investor and profit-sharer and the corporation which has taken him in and given him a stake in the company, we are also doing very much for society and government and for the wholesome regulation of public opinion. It needs no vivid imagination to follow out the possible and probable social and profitical effects.

It has been the pride of Americans that we have no classes in our country—at least, not in the European sense. No greater misfortune could happen than class development. Nor could that misfortune assume more sinister form than in the upbuilding of a

in the face of an agreement among the news-

papers of the city not even to mention his

Jones, the "Golden Rule" mayor of Toledo, conducted his campaign for re-election. He publicly announced his candidacy for the fourth time from the steps of the government building. After he had done so the crowd in the street sang "My Country, "Tis of Thee." led by the mayor, while his son, Paul Jones, played a saxonbore accompaniment.

a saxophone accompaniment.

Every noon and every evening the mayor made speeches on the street corners, at the gate of some manufacturing establishment or in some hall in the outlying or manufacturing districts. Pitted against him were John W. Dowd, Republican, and Charles M. Edson, cashier of the Dollar Savings bank, Democrat. The politicians worked harder than ever to defeat

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on he denounced the ways of politicians, and con-

machinery of political campaigns. I will, however, hold public meetings, inviting the co-operation of all

small class of corporation owners and managers who remain distinct and apart from the great mass of the people—a condition in which the vast majority would be naturally imbued with a spirit of antagonism to the little minority who controlled employment, production and to some extent, at least, the prices of commodities, this antagonism becoming acute and perhaps threatening under special circumstances. It may be said, with much truth, that there is little real danger of such development in a country like

CHARLES M. SCHWAB,

President of the Steel Corporation.

state, and where, in the absence of true classes, society is in a condition of flux and of sympathy and interchange from the very top almost to the very bot-tom. And yet, during the past few years we have seen the rise of the anti-trust spirit, in some minds assuming a virulent phase; we have seen in certain assuming a vitation place, we have seen a certain strata an outcropping of fierce hatred of wealth; we have seen—at least, those who have cared to look beneath the surface have seen—a considerable though not as yet alarming growth of socialism. A recent episode at Washington, wherein the mere name of the head of a great monopolistic trust signed to a telegram created a furore from one end of the country to the other, served to indicate a tendency of the publie mind which prudent men will take into consideration in their reckonings for the future.

Clearly, there could be no better means of strengthening our social and political system and

strengthening our social and political system and warding off whatever danger this tendency may present than by diffusion of the ownership of public corporations throughout the warp and woof of society. The remarkable young business man who designed the steel corporation's plan and was afded by a broad-minded and far-sighted board of directors in putting it into operation fully understood the philosophy of this question. Mr. George W. Perkins had come to this understanding through a good school. All his life he has been mingling with the people, and in this he has a decided advantage over many of his New York contemporaries, for he had mingled with the people of the great west, among whom the present and future of America are best studied. All his life, too, he had been managing them. As one of business. He soon discovered that a successful fight

breathed into the men; that they must be made to feel that the interests of the company are truly their interests; that their stake in the general success is as great as that of the heavy shareholders; that they all belong to a happy and sympathetic family, in which there is sure and ample reward for faithfulness and efficiency, that there is more in the work for them than the usual commissions and salaries; and that once they demonstrate their usefulness the company will take care of them in adversity and provide for their dependents should they

Though it would be most interesting and instructive to describe in detail the profit-sharing method by which the life insurance company in question worked out this problem, it must suffice here to say that the success achieved far-reaching. The men seemed transformed. They were imbued with a new spirit. They came to look upon the affairs of the company as "ours," not "theirs." They talked of what "we" were doing and hoped to do. In short, corporation by new ties, stronger and closer than any that had theretofore existed. In an incredibly short time the company found it-self in possession of an agency system which agency system which was the envy of all its rivals. Competitors attempted to cut in and lead away some of these men—these more strenuous, more efficient,

commissions and higher man succumbed to the temptation; and today the company is getting its full share of busi-ness at less proportion-ate cost than any of its rivals, and with the rivals, and with tremendous satisfaction of knowing that it has a staff full of loyalty and determination, which may be depended upon at all times and in any emergency.
This success of the life insurance manager

life insurance manager who knows men and had made it his life study to win their confidence and get from them the best of which they were capable was the forerunner of the Steel corporation's plan. Mr. Perkins believed human nature was much the same kins believed human nature was much the same
in the steel business
as he had found it in the
insurance business. He
believes now that the
managers of other corporations will find it
about the same everyabout the same every-

trial field they may be operating. In devising his plan of the Steel corporation, Mr. Perkins had in mind this central idea: The chief danger threatening a vast corporation The chief danger threatening a vast corporation whose work is carried on by an army of 168,000 men is lack of individual interest. It is the danger of heaviness and inertia, of ruts and stagnation. Men must be stimulated to individual initiative and greater efficiency. The way must be found to bind them to the corporation with stronger ties than those of here salary—or wage-earning. Men must have a stake in the success of the company higher and better than a simple desire to hold their places. We must make a great democracy of this business, not

ter than a simple desire to hold their places. We must make a great democracy of this business, not an autocracy, nor even an oligarchy. We need the warm interest and hearty co-operation of every employe, from the president down to the boy who drives a mule in a Lake Superior iron mine.

How to weld this army together and put esprit decorps into its ranks, was the problem. The solution decided upon, and now tested with such gratifying results will probably serve as a model for many other results, will probably serve as a model for many other results, will probably serve as a model for many other corporations. It is not supposed to be a perfect plan and in its details it may not be adaptable to all corporations. But the principle is there and the proportions are symmetrical and harmonious. Henry C. Frick, H. H. Rogers, P. A. B. Widener, Norman B. Ream, Robert Bacon, Albert H. Gray and Mr. Perkins, the members of the finance committee, saw at once that their plan must be divided into two main branches. One was to interest a large number of emparations. One was to interest a large number of employes by inducing them to become permanent stock-holders. The other was to engage the services of presidents, officers, managers and superintendents, and all others charged with responsibility, on a profit shar ing basis. It was early perceived that at the present-time it would not be practicable to apply profit-sharing directly to the great number of men who work with their hands throughout all the ramifica-

employes, and of which such a large number have already availed themselves. In other words, the company's proposal was to share profits with all employes who would demonstrate their interest and thrift by buying the company's stock. Consequently, the great bulk of the stock set aside for purchase by employes was offered to the men who earn the smallest salaries. This was done by dividing the 168,000 employes into six classes, according to their salaries—Class A, over \$20,000 a year; class B, \$10,000 to \$20,000, down to class F, under \$800 a year—and then by limiting the amount of stock employes could take to the following proportions of their annual salaries: Class A, 5 per cent; class B, 8 per cent; Class C, 10 per cent; Class B, 12 per cent; Class E, 15 per cent, and class F, 20 per cent. It will thus be seen why 90 per cent of all the stock subscribed for in January goes to the two classes of mechanics and workmen whose salaries are under \$2,500 a year.

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to the two classes of mechanics and workmen whose salaries are under \$2,500 a year.

The method is really a very simple one. Employes subscribe for stock, one or two shares apiece. The shares cost \$82.50, or less than the market value. Each employe pays in monthly installments, taken from his wages, and he may have the payments made small or large, as he likes, save that not more than 25 per cent of his wages may be so used in any month, and he may not be more than three years in completing payment. Dividends at the rate of 7 per cent a year go to the subscriber from the date of his first payment. Interest at 5 per cent is charged on the deferred payments. In other words, the corporation sells stock below the market price, on credit, and pays the holder 2 per cent a year in dividends more than he has to pay in interest. Here is a direct inducement to the investment of savings. But this is not all. Inducements are offered the employe to complete payment for his stock and to hold it. As soon as he has fully paid for it, the certificate is issued in his name, and he is free to dispose of it. But to make it worth his while to hold it and at the same time keep his place as a working partner in the company's service, the corporation says to him: "If you hold your stock, and beginning with January next year you show it to the treasurer of your company, and present a letter from the proper official that during the preceding year you have been in the employ of the company, and have shown a proper interest in present a letter from the proper official that during the preceding year you have been in the employ of the company, and have shown a proper interest in its welfare and progress, and you do this each January for five years, we will give you, in addition to the dividends paid you, a bonus of \$3\$ per share for each year. During the second period of five years we will pay your a further yearly bonus, as a reward for your continuous faithful service." The amount of the second bonus cannot now be fixed, but it will doubtless be larger than the first one. Ample provision is made for the protection of subscribers who from one cause or another are unable to complete payment. Subscribers who discontinue payments get their money back and keep the difpayments get their money back and keep the dif-ference between the 7 per cent dividends and the 5 per cent interest. In the case of subscribers who die or are disabled while faithfully serving the corporation, after having paid for their stock, the \$5 per share yearly bonus is not lost, but is paid over to them or their estates.

It would be worth the while of any reader of the Review of Reviews to sit down and figure out the profits of a rolling-mill worker who subscribed for, say, two shares of stock and undertook to pay for them in one year. The shares would cost him \$165. His monthly payments would be \$13.75. Five per cent interest on these deferred payments would be about \$3.75. At the end of the year he would own his stock \$3.75. At the end of the year he would own his stock outright and get the \$14 in dividends, or \$10.25 over the interest. If he remained in the service of the company for five years he would in that period draw in dividends \$66.25, and \$50 in yearly bonuses of \$5 a share. His total outgo for the five years would be \$165; total income, \$116.25. And he would then have, as his own, free of all charges, an investment bringing him perpetually \$14 a year, and at least \$24 a year as 10ng as he remained in the service of the Steel corporation

It is the announced intention of the corporation to It is the announced intention of the corporation to make another offer of stock next year, and the outlook is that the shares will be subscribed for many times over. The broad-viewed men who are guiding the destinies of this, the greatest corporation in the world, have caught the spirit of the democratization or "peopleizing" of our industrial combinations. At the present time there are about 90,000 holders of Steel corporation shares. It is probably safe to predict that within five years there will be a quarter of a million stockholders. Ultimately, the great bulk of these securities will be diffused among the people.

One of the directors of the Steel corporation, in

One of the directors of the Steel corporation, in speaking of the programme to secure popular or widely distributed ownership of its shares, pointed to the fact that in France hundreds of thousands of workmen and peasant farmers are owners of the stock of the Credit Froncier, Credit Lyonnais other banking and industrial corporations, "" is a widely prevalent impression," he added, "that the bulk of the Steel corporation shares are owned by Mr. Morgan and a coterie of men about him. This is not true. Mr. Morgan's relations to the reorganization of the steel properties have never been properry understood. Let us assume, for the sake of a simple explanation, that two or three years ago the managers of the various steel companies had gone to Washington and asked the government to take over their properties for the sake of conserving industrial their properties for the sake of conserving industrial prosperity. Assume also that the government had accepted the trust and that congress had authorized the secretary of the treasury to issue bonds to pay for the properties. In such a case there would be no question that the people of the United States owned the steel plants. The title would be in their name, their money would have been used in making the purchase. It is precisely in this light that we of the United States State expression look upon the rela-United States Steel corporation look upon the relations of the company to the people. It is their property, they have made it what it is, and they should have possession of it through diffusion among them of the stock certificates which represent its ownership. Mr. Morgan's relation to the transaction has been precisely the same as would have been that of the secretary of the treasury in the impossible case we have supposed of direct popular purchase through

The second or direct profit-sharing part of the Steel corporation plan is also based upon the principle of democracy. When the various companies were merged into one gigantic corporation the subsidiary concerns were managed, usually, by men who had a very large personal pecuniary interest in them, had a very large personal pecuniary interest in them, and who gave to the affairs of the companies not only their time, but the best efforts of which they were capable. In devising this plan the aim was to maintain the same important incentive, but instead of having it center in comparatively few men, so to distribute its effect throughout the corporation that every man would feel he had again become a partner and would work from that point of view. In other words, the purpose is to stimulate individual initiative and to overcome that tendency to inertia and stagnation which many have feared may ultimately work the destruction of vast organizations. The company proposes to distribute among its responsible men 1 per cent of the net earnings during the present year shall exceed \$80,000,000 men 1 per cent of the net earnings if the net earnings during the present year shall exceed \$80,000,000 and be less than \$90,000,000, and to increase the sum distributed one-fifth of 1 per cent for every \$10,000,000, added to the net earnings. If during this year, as is not unlikely, the net earnings reach the total of \$140,000,000, the sum distributed among the men who have helped make that great success will be \$3,150,000. This is profit sharing on a great scale. The corporation reserves the right to make the distribution according to the judgment of the finance committee, as a reward of merit and not pro rata. At the present time there are in the employ of the Steel corporation and its subsidiary companies approximately 1.750 men who receive salares in excess of \$2,500 a year, divided as follows: divided as follows: Twelve with salaries of \$20,000 a year and over, including the \$100,000 salary of the president of the cor-

Fifty from \$10.000 to \$20.000 a year. Two hundred from \$5.000 to \$10.000 a year. One thousand five hundred from \$2.500 to \$5.000 a

By giving its employes opportunity and interest ment to save their earnings and invest them in the shares of the company, by making even the humblest workman an indirect participant in the profits of the concern for which he works, by setting aside a share of the profits for annual distribution among the men whose skill and judgment, whose yes or no enter so whose skill and Judgment, whose yes or no enter so largely into the economies and success or failures of the giant organization, and by taking the public into confidence through full and frank reports of all operations, the United States Steel corporation has pointed out the path which it is believed many other industrial companies will be glad to follow.

## "GOLDEN RULE" JONES \*\*\*\*

'Give us a sample."

The Man Who Knows No Party ITHOUT a party, without an organization and

"Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help SAMUEL M. JONES. me. SAMUEL M. JONES,
"A Man Without a Party."

That evening Jones spoke from the postoffice stel and his campaign was on. In his sucker rod factor he has a uniformed band of twenty-three pieces. The

The morning after this campaign opening four young colored men called on him. They wanted em-

ployment. "Well, what can you do?" asked Jones,

The quartette sang some catchy plantation melodies.

"Bully!" exclaimed the mayor. "Now try some of these," handing them several of his own composition, for the mayor not only plays on several instruments, but writes the words for all sorts of songs and sets his own music to them. He sang over three or four to give the darkies an idea. One of his favorites, which is used very effectively, begins:

'I'm a man without a party, a free, untrammeled soul, Striving for liberty and freedom.

Striving for liberty and treedom.

"Consider yourselves engaged," remarked Jones, after several selections had been sung, and the quartette were a feature of his meetings.

He held frequent impromptu meetings on the streets. He went among the Polish citizens, jumped upon a store box and pointing to the crowd, cried:

"What's the Polish word for freedom?"

Some unpronounceable word is howled back at him.

"Say it again," says Jones, and again it is called

"Haste, oh haste, delightful morning, Of that glorious freedom day, When from earth's remotest border, Tyranny has passed away."

\*\*\*\* His Remarkable Political Success

Among those who came from outside to help the mayor in his campaign were Charles Ferguson of Eoston. Professor Oscar L. Triggs of Chicago, Ernest Howard Crosby and Clarence S. Darrow.

Jones is eccentric in many ways. Those who do not train under his banner charge him with insincerity. He is rich—a millionaire, and has a big in-

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rot train under his banner charge him with insincerity. He is rich—a millionaire, and has a big income, and his critics declare he likes notoriety and is willing to pay for it.

In his last message to the city council he stated his political views at length. In it he says that under the party system not one candidate in a hundred is the spontaneous choice of the people.

Points out that the political situation in Toledo today is a striking commentary on the fraud and impotency of the party system of politics.

Says that because of the caucus rule the masses are made the dupes of designing politicians.

Favors a municipal brass band for firemen and policemen.

Suggests the abandonment of grade crossings Reapproves the idea of public ownership of all natural monopolies.

Advocates the abolition of the contract system

and the substitution of the day labor plan in all departments.
Says that government under the party system is really a system of organized plundering of the weak

by the strong.
Favors the abolition of the police court.
Protests against sending people to jail for inability to pay fines. nmends the work in all departments as being as good as can be done unt!! "we are all free men."

Jones has been elected three times as an independent after having served one term as a Republican. His success is considered one of the most won-

cluded as follows:

"I therefore again accept this nomination direct from the hands of the people as a sacred trust, for the safe keeping of which I am accountable to God. the people and to my conscience, and I shall at once enter actively into this campaign of faith that has had my heart, my affections and my unremitting efforts for the past four years.

"I have faith that the people do not need political guardians to 'get out the vote,' 'watch the count,' and will therefore have none of the organized machinery of political campaigns. I will, however, hold public meetings, inviting the co-operation of all. back.
"I don't understand it, but it sounds good," he exclaimed, and then began to talk. Suddenly he would break off his discourse, perhaps in the middle of a sentence, and say: "Let's have a song."

One of his favorites on such occasions is of his own composition, set to an old Welsh air and starting to the end that we may 'proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof.' I announce the first meeting for this evening on Madison street, in front of the postoffice, for where can a better place to plead for liberty and sing the songs of freedom than in the open air and under the open sky?

derful things in the history of politics.-Cleveland